4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch the cradle while they sing:

Poganik, When the boy grows a man,
A weaver we'll make him,
And money he'll bring us.[1]

And for a girl:

Poganik, When our girl grows up tall,
She shall go to the valley
And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal rite of the churches to which they respectively

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 852 [774] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian beys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [774 177]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days.

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

M 184 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." 551 Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring 576 coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, 551 was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

576 "She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. 553 Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr A (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by 571 another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; 784 they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Great Russians RF2
Greece EH1
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name?

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty").

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense.

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse.

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible."

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength.

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195- EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also [553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 All of the Ghegs who were converted to
797 Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[17] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.